

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 663

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THREE PENCE

Vicious Power Circle

MANY of us hoped that Scandinavia, which in many respects has preserved values and liberties that have yielded an enviable social balance and a high degree of internal stability, would find a vocation in carrying, by way of neutrality, the values of a spiritual democracy through these tempestuous times.

Latterly, however, as the two big power blocs muster their forces, Scandinavia has shown signs of losing its nerve. Norway moves uncertainly towards the American bloc, Denmark hesitatingly; while Sweden alone holds firmly to neutrality.

Norway still holds to her determination "not to join any agreement with other states involving obligations for Norway to open bases for foreign powers' military forces on

COMMENTARY by WILFRED WELLOCK

Norwegian territory, as long as Norway is not attacked or exposed to threats of attack." But the fact of joining the Atlantic Pact destroys the immense value of neutrality, and changes her chief objective from that of strengthening the spiritual foundations of her civilisation to that of erecting the bulwarks of power within a system of power policies with all its incalculable perils.

The failure of Scandinavian neutrality increases Britain's responsibility for finding a way of escape from the vicious circle of power, which daily grows stronger. The indications are that from now on the pace of military events will quicken, and that if war is to be prevented, new policies, positive rather than negative, will have to be adopted—and by Britain.

The odds

TODAY we are confronted with a flagrant political contradiction. On the one hand we are told that Communism grows on social injustice and discontent, personal frustration of one kind or another, while on the other hand, the very same people are ready to squander more and more of our natural and human resources on preparation for war.

Britain is pursuing an economy that is going to make three demands, destined to intensify tensions which will jeopardise peace: for armaments, for markets, and for food.

The drive for armaments

IF, as I believe, and as most politicians profess to believe, Communism thrives on economic conflict, economic breakdown and social discontent, why do we not concentrate on a really serious attempt to get down to the roots of social discontent, use all our resources in order to remove them and so make a really satisfying life possible to the entire community?

Instead we are confronted with the spectacle of a Government that is fighting valiantly to stave off national bankruptcy while raising her military expenditure to £760,000,000 in the midst of crippling austerities and frustrations: and obviously even this is only the beginning of a new armaments spiral, for should Britain close

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

NORWAY DIVIDED ON ATLANTIC PACT

From our Norwegian Correspondent

OSLO

THE Norwegian Press and Parliament give an untrue picture of the strength of the opposition to Norway's adherence to the Atlantic Pact. There is evidence that opposition is gathering, not only in Oslo, but in other parts of the country, not least the north.

The strength of Labour Party discipline quells opposition within its own ranks. The Norwegian Storting-men, being elected in groups for wide areas and having no one-man constituencies, are much more susceptible to Party pressure than to the views of their electors.

The Labour, Conservative and Liberal Press is unanimously in favour of the Pact; only the Communist opposing it—and opposition, other than Communist, receives little mention.

PROTEST MEETINGS

Nevertheless, first open discussion meetings and then protest meetings have been held, the last being an open-air demonstration outside the Storting (Parliament), attended by some four to five thousand people, despite the cold and snow; and despite allegations in the Press, this was not organised by the Communists.

An influential group, trying to organise and give expression to the opposition which undoubtedly exists among the general public, is now working independently of the Communists, and has drawn up a protest, which, I understand, it hopes will be sent to the Storting by as many people as possible. This runs as follows:—

The Norwegian people have before them an important decision in relation to Foreign policy.

Norway's adherence to the Atlantic Pact means a heightening of the tension between the Great Powers in the East and West.

Norway's adherence to the Atlantic Pact means the splitting of the Nordic countries. A split in the Nordic countries is not support for world peace.

Norway's adherence to the Atlantic Pact means a serious danger of splitting our people on a question which may endanger our national existence.

Norway's adherence to the Atlantic Pact will hinder us in taking an independent line in the United Nations.

NORWAY'S FIRST DUTY

It is our opinion that it is Norway's first duty to work for peace, a relief of tension in international relations, and to support the United Nations. The will of the people for peace is the foundation of the United Nations. It is the people's will for peace which must force statesmen to build up the United Nations and make a reality a world embracing co-operation and system of security.

We desire that the Scandinavian countries should stand united and together take part in the economic, social and cultural reconstruction of Europe.

It is our opinion that the economic reconstruction of Norway could continue without the country being forced into a military alliance through the Atlantic Pact.

This is not a party political question. Each must take a stand according to his conscience and personal conviction. The parties must not

bind the individual. It is our opinion that the Press has not given expression to the great differences of opinion which are present among Norwegian people in connection with our attitude to the Atlantic Pact.

We strongly advise against the Norwegian Storting taking a decision for Norway to join the Atlantic Pact until the people have had all conditions clearly presented and have made known their opinion.

We protest against the Norwegian Storting taking a decision which will bind us inevitably to a foreign policy which can have decisive consequences for the Norwegian people and for the peace of the world.

The Women's International League has been very active in support of this protest; and pacifists, who regard the Atlantic Pact as the most dangerous alliance into which Norway

INTO ENGLISH

THE first instalment of a diary by one of Rommel's soldiers in North Africa, "Pilgrimage to Peace," appears on page 3. The author, Herbert Sinz, is now a member of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

INTO GERMAN

THE anthology, "Above All Nations," compiled by Vera Brittain, George Catlin and Sheila Hodges, recording "acts of kindness done to enemies, in the late war, by men of many nations," has now been issued in German. *Über Allen Völkern*, edited by Prof. Gerhard Mackenroth (whose pamphlet, "Out of the Ruins" was published by Peace News lately), and translated by Ursula Andrasch, is obtainable in Germany from the Carl Habel Verlagsbuchhandlung.

can enter, have supported it also, although aware that the only practical alternative suggested has been an armed and united Scandinavia. They believe that the Atlantic Pact will rob Norway of her independence in foreign policy, and end the friendly relations which have hitherto existed with Soviet Russia.

Correspondence has shown how strongly different points of view are held. The threat that Norway will be divided within herself is no idle threat: the division already exists.

THE NIGHTINGALE OF INDIA

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, 1879-1949

THE death of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is a loss not only to India and the world, but to literature, pacifism and feminism themselves.

From the publication in 1905 of her first volume of verse, "The Golden Threshold," to her death as the first woman Governor of a province, she served all three to an extent that amounted in each case to a full-time job. This combination of outstanding qualities and values made her the most remarkable woman in India, if not in the world.

Mrs. Naidu, born in 1879, was a student of Girton College towards the end of the last century. Her father, Dr. Aghoremath Chattopadhyay, was a Brahmin educationist who became Principal of the Nizam's College, Hyderabad. Her own daughter, Poppy, went to Somerville College, Oxford, for to her other activities Sarojini Chattopadhyay added marriage and a family; she became the wife of Dr. M. G. Naidu in 1898.

Mrs. Naidu was known as the Nightingale of India and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature in 1914. From the first she was fortunate in attracting the sponsorship of outstanding English writers; Arthur Symonds wrote a preface to her first book and Edmund Gosse to her second, "The Bird of Time."

INTO THE STRUGGLE

Feminism, politics and the Civil Disobedience movement were formidable claimants to the time spent on literature, and eventually they won. There has never, I suppose, been an age in which it has been less possible for the concerned artist to be an artist alone; justice, freedom, peace have battered at the ivory tower of writer after writer, pushing the individual genius into the arena as Dante was pushed by the politics of Italy and Milton by the English Civil War. Mrs. Naidu was a supreme example of this type of historic conflict. For a great man it is possible to stand further aloof—Tagore to some extent

did so—but the sympathy, creative impulses, and intuitive insight of a great woman carries her into the heart of the struggle whenever a tremendous task awaits its performers.

Hence Mrs. Naidu led the feminist movement in India after experience of the militant suffrage campaign in England. At the same time she became a leader of the Indian Congress

By VERA BRITTAIN

movement, and later, in spite of the dynamic energy sometimes associated with aggression, became part of Mr. Gandhi's campaign of non-cooperation and civil disobedience. She was the second woman (Annie Besant being the first) to be President of the National Congress, in 1925. In 1930 and 1932 she was imprisoned for her political activities, and in 1942, when large-scale civil disobedience was ordered, she shared imprisonment for eight months with other members of the Committee.

IN THE NEW INDIA

It was natural, when Indian freedom at last became a reality, that Mrs. Naidu should join in the leadership of the new India. At first she was appointed as Governor of the United Provinces pending a male nominee, but later her appointment was confirmed, and Government House in Lucknow became an embodiment of her strong and vigorous spirit, very different from most official residences.

As a member of the delegation going to Santiniketan next December, I was hoping for an opportunity to visit her there which will now never be realised. I am glad to learn that Agatha Harrison, now in India, spent a weekend in Lucknow with Mrs. Naidu before her death. She must have reinforced, through this visit, the deep sympathy which has so long existed between many leading English women and the women of India.

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SATYAGRAHA

EARLY in his novel, "Ape and Essence" (Chatto and Windus, 7s. 6d.), Aldous Huxley passes the following judgment on Gandhi:

"... The whole story included an inconsistency, almost a betrayal. This man who believed only in people had got himself involved in the sub-human mass-madness of nationalism, in the would-be super-human, but actually diabolic institutions of the nation-state. He got involved in these things, imagining that he could mitigate the madness and convert what was satanic in the state to something like humanity. But nationalism and the politics of power had proved too much for him

... We killed him because, after having briefly (and fatally) played the political game, he refused any longer to go on dreaming our dream of a national Order."

It is interesting to set beside this judgment that of another pacifist whose book, *Satyagraha* (Regnery, \$2), has recently been published in America. According to R. R. Diwakar, it was precisely Gandhi's outstanding achievement to have "taught mankind to extend its domestic attitude towards wrongdoers in the family, to wrongdoers in general. He believed that Satyagraha could be used in the political sphere precisely as in the domestic sphere"—and his belief was justified by the event:

"*Satyagraha* has been used in practically all fields and on all occasions, save during an invasion by an armed enemy. It has proved itself as a substitute for war. The great Indian experiment stands for all to see."

What are we to make of this discrepancy?

It must be confessed that Mr. Diwakar has failed to substantiate his high-pitched claims. His book is by no means the objective and critical study of non-violent resistance, or even of the Indian non-violent resistance, that is so badly needed today.

In the first place, he assigns a universal validity to tactics evolved by Gandhi in a quite peculiar historical and geographical context. It needs no great acumen to perceive, for example, that the open organisation of civil disobedience, upon which Gandhi laid so much stress, would have been inconceivable except in an Empire which, as he himself acknowledged, gave its subject "the freest scope possible for his energies and honour, and whatever he thinks due to his conscience," an Empire possessing "certain ideals with which he had fallen in love." Elsewhere, at the first murmur of revolt, Gandhi might well have been found "confessing" to reptilian treasuries, espionage, currency-dealings, etc.

In the second place, Mr. Diwakar, though he starts by distinguishing sharply between Satyagraha and passive resistance—the one implying genuine love for the opponent, the other being merely an expedient of the involuntarily unarmed—persistently ignores the distinction later on, thereby conveying the impression that Satyagraha was really adopted on a mass-scale in India. It was not, nor was the Home-rule Gandhi's campaigns furthered the Home-rule he himself desired.

Does this, however, mean that we must accept Mr. Huxley's conclusion—that morality has no place in politics; that the holy man must of necessity be a recluse, and the institutions of the nation-state be diabolic? Surely not. The very freedom that enabled Gandhi to perform his miracles—or mistakes—was secured to him by these institutions. In reproaching Gandhi for making the good the ally of the best, Mr. Huxley only makes the best the enemy of the good.

All is grist....

I AM very sorry to see that Fritz Küster's newspaper, *Das Andere Deutschland*, is being discontinued, owing to financial difficulties.

Herr Küster, who, on March 4, 1933—the day before Hitler's terror-election—published a final warning against the consequences of a Nazi victory, was arrested on March 6, and spent the next twelve years in a concentration camp. Immediately after his liberation, in May, 1945, he recommenced his efforts for the democratisation of Germany: but more than a year was allowed to elapse before he was granted a license by the Military Government to re-start his paper. By then, invaluable opportunities had been lost, and the clumsily-prepared currency reform still further weakened his support.

Today, "democracy is on the defensive," Fritz Küster writes once again. To the Western Powers, anti-Bolshevism has become more important than democracy, and the most outspoken anti-Bolsheviks being former Nazis, radical democrats are liable to be smeared as Communist fellow-travellers. "This may be a compelling reason to redouble our efforts: but without adequate financial support, the continued publication of *Das Andere Deutschland* is not secured. ... It was our desire to unite the Left on the basis of a radical democratic programme. ... This endeavour has not met with sufficient response."

FELLOWSHIP reports that Japanese and American leaders are discussing a "limited" rearmament for Japan, in the light of the "Soviet threat." Japan's constitutional renunciation of war and armaments, dictated by the U.S. in 1945, is now described by Hanson W. Baldwin as "distinctly unrealistic."

A FRIEND who has the unenviable task (for a writer of outstanding quality) of contributing reports and articles to a certain "progressive" periodical, tells me that none of these are permitted to appear until every forceful or original phrase has been translated into its committee equivalent. Max Plowman used to say that the Chairman of the Cambridge Tribunal winced whenever the word "conscience" was uttered. Words that make my friend wince are: "viewing with alarm and/or con-

Aberystwyth

I HOPE I am not alone in regretting the aggressive tone of your report of Mr. Shinwell's reception at Aberystwyth. We may justly rejoice that "the University College is endeavouring to dissociate itself from the University Training Corps," and that so many students apparently oppose military preparations. But one wonders how much of the opposition was engendered by genuine pacifism: for university students are not particularly noted for steadfastness in their enthusiastic denunciation of policies they dislike. How many members of the Oxford Union who voted against fighting for "King and Country" in the famous pre-war debate became conscientious objectors during the war?

Your report says that the students massed to make a fiasco of the march past of 25 pieces of military equipment in the Territorial recruiting campaign; that Mr. Shinwell acceded to repeated demands for a speech by standing on a lorry from which he "attempted" to speak to the students; and that he had repeatedly to ask for a hearing. There is nothing very pacific about rowdiness and denying even the Secretary for War a fair hearing after he had been pressed to make a speech.

I don't suppose that Mr. Shinwell, the Government or the University College Authorities think any more kindly of pacifism as a result of the incident. If any of them read *Peace News*, they are probably more impressed by Sybil Morrison in the column adjoining your report of the Aberystwyth affair. She says: "To remain unruffled, even if, through persistent heckling, it is impossible to state a full case, will often result in

cern"; "a worth-while job"; "without distinction of race, class, creed or nationality"; "understanding and goodwill".... Readers who feel, with us, that it is time an Index of Forbidden Words and Phrases was compiled for the use of "progressives"—the word "progressive" it-



(Cartoon by Mays.)
"Did you say my hands
AND my face?"

self, of course, would be among the first to be included—are cordially invited to contribute to a list which, we feel certain, can be almost indefinitely extended.

"IT'S not like March," said my next-door neighbour last week-end, as we watched our half-opened daffodils slowly disappearing under the snow. The week before it had not been like February. Next month, unless every single day is diversified by showers and sallies of sunshine, I am quite sure it will not be like April.

Whence, I wonder, do Englishmen derive their seasonal norms—for somewhere, all of us cherish an ideal of what each month should be? It

a sympathetic hearing in the end, and certainly in sympathetic contacts with some of the audience after the meeting is over."

HERBERT BYARD

The Folk House,
Daglingworth, Cirencester, Glos.

Tomatoes, and other things

IN the last two or three commentaries, Maurice Cranston has dealt ably with the problems of infant mortality, dentists' fees and the film crisis, and no doubt he will soon be writing on women's fashions, men's wear and the most efficient way to grow tomatoes.

Surely the weekly commentary is expected by the vast majority of readers to have a direct bearing on the problems of war and peace?

LETTERS

When *Peace News* ceases to be a pacifist newspaper and becomes a weekly journal for the average family, then there will be scope for articles on various topics unconnected with pacifism. But at present, irrelevant subjects seem to me to be quite out of place in the leading article.

TRISTAN NELSON

Pacifist Publicity Bureau,
66a, Drayton Park, N.5.

(Whatever the vast majority of readers, or Mr. Nelson, may expect, it has been the stated policy of *Peace News* to present the views of pacifists on all topics, not merely on war and peace. It is even arguable that war and peace is the one topic upon which the pacifist has nothing distinctive to say. We hope shortly to carry an article on the most efficient way of growing tomatoes.—Ed.)

ALL FOOLS DAY

READERS have chaffed us for launching the larger *Peace News* on All Fools' Day. But it is not so inappropriate as you might think. Prudent standards would judge it folly to give more when we are receiving less. We are taking a great risk! Is it wise? However *PN* readers know another wisdom which some think pretty foolhardy. *PN* Directors have great faith in the vision and vitality which you, dear reader, devote to the supreme folly of working for peace in a war-minded world. All Fools together then!—in a great April 1st effort to speed the new *PN* on its way.

1. Street sellers in every town.
2. *PN* displayed in every news-agent's.
3. A copy to every known sympathiser.
4. Gifts to the FORWARD FUND.

Extra copies will be available, ad lib., at 1s. 6d. a dozen, post free. We depend on EVERY pacifist group and reader to lend a hand in at least one of the above ways. Plan, and place your order NOW.

THE FORWARD FUND has started well, but is far from making the grade required. We thank those, from the old-age pensioner in Burnley to the Doctor in Thetford, who have responded so promptly to our gesture of faith. Now it's YOUR turn to see that we get that £250 by the end of this month.

H.F.M.

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cannot be from observation, since the facts so regularly and signally fail to accord with them. Is it, then, from those rhymes we learned in childhood, about April showers bringing forth May flowers and so on? Whatever the source of our expectations, nothing, it seems can affect their annual recurrence. No matter how often they are disappointed, still it's the weather that's to blame!

How much simpler everything would become, and how much less grumbling there would be, if only we could admit that summer is what summer does, and discard these ideals once and for all! But how much simpler it would become, too, if we could admit that life is what life does, and discard the notion that we have any right to be happy! Then, indeed, we might be well on the way towards becoming children of Him who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust. ...

The Miller

Ministry of Peace

NOW that women are becoming vocal for peace; and bearing in mind that we have Ministries and Ministers administering almost every part of our daily life. Why should we not have a "Ministry of Peace" with (dare one suggest it) a woman as Minister of Peace?

Women have everything to gain and nothing to lose, by voicing their passionate protest against the horrifying assumption of a third world war.

There must be a way to use the people's will for peace; to build a secure world, free from fear.

Let us demand a *Ministry of Peace*, with an equal footing in the Budget with the Ministry of War, with all the millions it needs to carry out this greatest of all national and human aims: "Permanent Peace."

Women Unite!

ETHEL A. LEWIS

The Manse,
Brill, Aylesbury, Bucks.

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FOR ACTIVE PACIFISTS

THE PPU JOURNAL

MONTHLY FOURPENCE

From *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4, or from your local PPU Group (Postage 1d.).

In the African desert the Indian prisoner talked of Gandhi . . .

PILGRIMAGE TO PEACE

Jan. 19, 1942

Leaves from the diary of one
of Rommel's soldiers

by

Dr. HERBERT SINZ

who is now thirty-five, was a leader of the Catholic youth movement in Germany until it was banned by Hitler in 1933. He travelled widely, both inside and outside Europe, wrote plays for theatre and radio, and books on art, literature and the peoples of the world. As a soldier in Rommel's army, he took part in the North African campaign, but was invalided out in 1942 with tuberculosis, and has been confined in hospitals ever since. He is now in a sanatorium at Davos-Wolfgang, Switzerland, where he is hoping to be reunited at last with his wife, and the daughter whom he has never seen. The extracts from his diary, which we are publishing this week and next, record some of the incidents and reflections that have led him finally to join the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

NO, by Allah, the desert does not belong to the English, nor to the Italians, nor to the Germans. It belongs to no one, save the nomads who have been supplying us these two days with food. I am lying in front of the tent, looking out into a great tawny wilderness. To what can one compare this desert? I would liken it to an old man, whose face is dry and wizened, but whose deep-set eyes retain still a fiery glow.

Two days ago, when our hard-pressed unit, composed of Germans and Italians, had to surrender to the English near Halfaya, we, a small scattered group of soldiers, escaped being made prisoners owing to our isolated position. Now we are trying to find our way back to the Army.

With us are two Indian prisoners, fallen into our hands whilst conducting a reconnaissance. One of them looks after us all in a most touching manner, bearing the canister and water-bottles for the Bedouin women and making a fire of dung which emits acrid smoke. The other meditates while preparing something to eat. He speaks English well, and a conversation strikes up between us.

1942 FLASHBACK

To Cairo GHQ and Admiralty reports:

Jan. 17: The Axis garrison at Halfaya surrendered unconditionally . . . 5,500 prisoners taken . . . Many Axis troops exceedingly weak from lack of supplies and water.

Jan. 29: Two strong enemy tank columns advancing on Benghazi obliged the 7th Indian Infantry Brigade to give ground. The German High Command, reporting the reoccupation of Benghazi, announced Rommel promoted to the rank of Colonel-General.

Mar. 24: British naval forces in the Mediterranean secured torpedo hit on the Italian battleship Littorio. Axis claims to have sunk a cruiser, three destroyers, and a 10,000-ton merchantman are baseless.

"Do you know about Gandhi?" he asks me.

I nod. "I have read about him in the newspapers. Not more."

"Do you know that there would not be a war if all thought as he does?"

"I have not much faith in these apostles of peace. You can not reach any clear decision by means of passive resistance."

The Indian stirs his pot. "Gandhi's spiritual power reaches beyond the grasp of most human beings."

"Even he cannot turn what is evil into good," I answer.

"But he unerringly believes in what is good, he abhors violence and war."

"If you are a partisan of Gandhi and his peace politics, as your words suggest, why are you fighting, weapon in hand, on the African front?"

"In order to be able to live entirely like Gandhi, one has first to kindle the fire of a love strong enough to wipe out hatred of others."

The young Bedouin interrupts our conversation. In a mixture of Italian and Arabic he tells me about his girl, whose eyes are like narcissi, whose charm and loveliness are like a flower-scented paradise.

I lend only half an ear to what he says. Within me there is echoing the sound of that Love which overcomes the hatred of others.

Feb. 5, 1942

THE moon has woven a magic splendour over Benghazi which, for a week now, has been in our hands again.

Rommel has succeeded in recovering the initiative. We are advancing rapidly. I have remained behind with the wounded. Friend and foe lie in a war hospital near the graves of saints, which, deeply sunk in shadow and enveloped in a greenish atmosphere, look strangely phantasmagoric.

I draw near an English lieutenant who has had his shoulder-blade crushed by a grenade. He tells me he was an Oxford student and learned German. Thereupon I pass him my Faust which, besides the New Testament, I have always with me. He knows Faust as well as I, if not better.

"Faust," he says, "is you and I. He is man, whose aspirations reach towards God, but whose being is bound to chaos. Again and again we succumb to the powers of destruction within ourselves."

"Yes," I reply, "man errs as long as he seeks."

"But through all defeats he nevertheless goes on the way of victory," says the Englishman, "for God leads him towards clarity."

"You are right, we return to the Divine as into the maternal womb whence we have come."

"But why always the chaos first. Why through misery, suffering and war?" he whispers to himself.

"Yes, why? That question is everlasting on its way to Heaven."

I look at the young lieutenant. He remains silent. His nose is very pinched. He needs rest. I leave him.

Outside the door an Arab is seated with his legs crossed underneath him, murmuring, "Allah hu akbar"—"God is great."

March 26, 1942

A BRITISH-ITALIAN sea battle is waging in the Mediterranean. We, the sick and wounded, waiting in wooden huts in the harbour of Tripoli

for our transport home, do not feel happy at the idea of this journey by sea. Most of us have an uneasy memory of the English submarines and the RAF.

Towards 3 o'clock in the morning we are assembled on an armed cargo boat. Over the bay there is a slight mist, which is said to favour the journey against air attack. Those who can be transported are laid in long rows on the deck. I have a fever and am wondering anxiously whether we shall be able to stand this journey safely. Up to this moment I have hardly paid any attention to the other comrades. I glance to the right. There someone is lying with his head bandaged, and his deep grey eyes scrutinising the night sky. In the east, there appears a faint, perhaps illusory, light.

The ship's engine starts thumping, and with moderate speed our barque ploughs the waves.

Abruptly the man on the right starts talking. "The wages of sin is death."

I listen, struck by his words. The fog becomes heavier.

"As far as I can grasp your words, comrade," I say, inclining to the right, "you are quoting a passage from the Epistle to the Romans."

The man nods. "I am a theologian."

"An Army chaplain?"

"No, I was mobilised as a nurse. My left ear has been torn away, I hope that, as far as I am concerned, the war is over. I hate it. What about you?"

"I don't like it either, but I don't revolt against doing my duty like

millions of others when the fatherland needs me."

"At the word 'fatherland' I see in my mind today a perfect painting by an artist, over which someone has spilled ink," he replies.

"Your similes are audacious, comrade."

"Are you frightened by my talk? I mean, do you fear it might reach ears for which it is not destined?" Slowly he turns his head to the lieutenant on the right.

"No," I say, "I am glad to be lying here beside you."

The thunder of far-away guns is rolling over the sea. Our ship changes her course.

The theologian starts in a low, monotonous voice: "The first man separated himself by his own will from God and tendered his hand to the devil. Ever since, the devil has had a claim upon man because man himself yielded him the claim. His connection with God has been interrupted."

I agree with my comrade. The sea on which we are sailing makes me think of the simile of a diver, unable to breathe any longer once his connection with the oxygen above is broken.

"And yet," my neighbour goes on, "Man cannot draw a single breath without God. In spite of that we dare to ignore Him, to treat Him as a rival. We get involved in wars, trusting solely in our own power."

"Yes, hatred of God and of peoples for one another runs a black stream through humanity," I say, listening to the engines throbbing more quietly now.

Then we go full steam ahead again. "There is something in the air," I murmur.

"Are you frightened," asks the theologian, "because you seem to have gone through a lot already?"

"Oh, I was only thinking that it would not be a very nice death to be drowned with a fever in the Mediterranean."

"I hate the death of a soldier in whatever form."

"I can well believe it, when a grenade has been blowing around your ears. I know about it."

"No, that is not the reason. At heart, I am a pacifist."

"Pa-ci-fist? Such people are usually shot when there is a war," I remark, surprised.

"But because I am not yet prepared to follow out my pacifism to the end, I have been in Africa—and that is why I am lying here now," he replies.

"Yes, to the end. . . . Come on, comrade, tell me more about it!"

(To be concluded)

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Bread and Peace, by Roy Walker. The C. W. Daniel Co. Ltd., 1s.*

HUNGER is the greatest enemy of peace. In this clear and forceful pamphlet Roy Walker argues very cogently that the world could be much better fed upon a vegetarian diet. It is no accident that Shelley, Tolstoy, Thoreau and Gandhi were vegetarians. The true use of food is to minister to the well-being of the whole man, body mind and spirit, and this function is not fulfilled when there is necessity to repress imaginative knowledge of the slaughter of flesh and fowl. This is an important pamphlet, and the writer's ability to marshal his facts must be acknowledged even by those of us who do not accept all his conclusions.

Fox Preservation. National Society for Abolition of Cruel Sports.

The hypocrisy of most fox-hunters is exposed here. Their true aim is not to exterminate foxes humanely, but to preserve and propagate them artificially for sport. Stag Hunting, another booklet from the same Society, gives further necessary publicity to what is surely the most barbaric of all "pastimes."

Friends in Action—Nowhere to Go.

Friends Home Service Committee, 4d.*

The story of Friends' work amongst

displaced persons, told in a very interesting manner.

Quaker and Evangelical, by William E. Wilson. Friends Home Service Committee, 6d.*

This booklet is an assessment of the life and work of Rendel Harris. It clearly states Harris's position as a Quaker and an Evangelical, and shows how he differed from his fundamentalist contemporaries. All Liberal Christians will find this to be an interesting and valuable pamphlet.

Registering as a CO. Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6d.*

Once again, the CBCO has produced a pamphlet dealing with the needs of the moment, and one has to recognise the hard work which is entailed in the very clear and lucid explanations of statutes and regulations which emanate from the CBCO. Like its predecessors, the pamphlet is indispensable to COs and their helpers.

World Law, by Ithel Davies and James Avery Joyce. World Citizenship Movement, 6d.*

This booklet is really a plea for the establishment of an international police force, although it also deals with wider issues. It is intended to be a basis for study and discussion on the new approach to International Law which is involved in the application of World Unity ideals to this vital field of world relationships.

Comparative Systems of Law Enforcement, by Charles Reith. PN Pamphlet, 3d.*

This is an extremely informative and well-written pamphlet. Both laws and authority are dependent upon machinery for enforcing laws. It is essential for the internal peace of any community that its police system should be based upon the approval and goodwill of the members of that community. Mr. Reith traces the growth of the police system in this country, and in the United States. It is hard to realize that the elementary idea that the purpose of a police system was the prevention of crime had to be forced upon the British people against strong hostility. The influence of our police system during the past hundred years has been very great. The same thing is true of the United States, but there, unfortunately, the system is different, and political pressure plays its part. It is no coincidence that those areas of the world which have depended for the preservation of peace upon crude and tyrannical police systems have been the most fertile sources of war. What of the establishment of order between nations? All internationalists will do well to find out what Mr. Reith has to say about this. J.V.

* Obtainable from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Post 1d.

In Italy, U.S.A. and France

MORE PROTESTS AT IMPRISONMENT OF "MEN OF PEACE"

Court Martialled—Acquitted

DUTCH C.O. REFUSES TO WEAR UNIFORM

CHARGED with refusing to obey an order to put on a battledress blouse "on May 4, 1948, in time of war," and willfully persisting in his disobedience, a Dutch CO, Fethus van Lieshout has been acquitted by a Court Martial. It was ruled that he was driven to the act by force majeure—his conscientious objection.

The acquittal is a triumph for Hein van Wijk, Lieshout's counsel, who has fought hard for recognition of the right of a soldier to become a conscientious objector.

MINISTRY CRITICISED

The Court Martial Report points out that Lieshout's appeal to the War Minister for recognition as a CO was turned down without the Minister's Commission having before it any particulars regarding "the psychological disposition, life history, family circumstances, nature of employment and personal circumstances of the accused whereas the Court Martial does have these at its disposal."

The Court Martial Report complains of the insufficient description of the Commission's hearing contained in the brief minutes put before them, and then details the further information brought before the Court. This included a report from an army psychiatrist that the defendant was "diagnosed as being a normal personality," and from an army chaplain that Lieshout "must be accepted as a conscientious objector in the sense of the Refusal of Military Service Act."

"HE IS IN EARNEST"

The Court Martial Report concludes:

WHEREAS the Court Martial, in view of the aforementioned information, letters and declarations of witnesses and the accused's own declaration, as also the manner in which, at the session of the court, he made his statement, has gained the conviction that his objections have been actually inspired by the voice of conscience; that he is very much in earnest about them and has very seriously reflected on them;

WHEREAS the Court Martial is of the opinion, that if, notwithstanding the objections in question, the accused were yet to perform military service, he would act in serious contradiction with the compelling standards dictated to him by his conscience and that in these circumstances such a line of conduct cannot nor may be reasonably demanded of him;

WHEREAS in view of the foregoing, the accused must be considered as having committed the act accepted above as proved, driven thereto by force majeure . . . and therefore not punishable and should be acquitted of that with which he is charged.

PRONOUNCING JUSTICE IN THE NAME OF THE QUEEN: The accused is declared guilty of the act above proved . . . but is not declared punishable in respect thereof . . . (and) is acquitted. His immediate release is ordered.

Hein van Wijk, LL.D., is a member of the International Council of the War Resisters' International and a leading authority on the law as it relates to conscientious objection to military service.

FURTHER protests are being made to the governments of Italy, France and America against the prosecution of young men who are being prosecuted or imprisoned for refusal to join in war preparations.

THE War Resisters' International are urging the Italian Government to acknowledge the right of conscientious objection and have drawn their attention to the recent imprisonment of a 22-year-old conscientious objector, Pietro Pinna.

In September, 1948, Pietro Pinna was called to the Officers' Training (Cadet) School, but informed the Commandant that he could not undertake military training and submitted a written petition. This petition was forwarded to the Minister of Defence by the Commandant.

SENT HOME

In a letter dated Jan. 22, 1949, the Italian Defence Minister dismissed Pietro Pinna from the course at the Officers' Training School and he was sent home pending further developments. Subsequently, however, Pietro Pinna was ordered to be drafted with a view to his fulfilling his obligations as a military conscript. On Feb. 6, 1949, he presented himself as instructed at Casale Monferrato, but was not allowed to state his case and was detained in the military prison there for refusing to comply with orders.

There will probably be a trial and when the result of this is known the WRI will advise all national sections, asking for action to be taken.

"It is not our practice," Grace Beaton writes in a recent letter to Sections, "to appeal straight away to Governments on behalf of men refusing military service or training when first called up, for we take the view that we must be able to show that these men are sincere and prepared to face the consequences of their refusal."

FIRST OF ITS KIND

"With regard to Italy, however, there are particular reasons for taking the matter up at this stage. The case of Pietro Pinna is one of the very first of its kind since the new régime in Italy and we do feel that an approach to the Italian authorities in this particular case might lead to further official consideration of the whole question of the right of conscientious objection, which question has already been brought before the Italian authorities—but so far without success although the door was not absolutely closed. We therefore feel that this case might provide an opportunity to bring forward the whole issue again."

PN readers are invited to write to Pietro Pinna at the following address:

1° C.A.R. -4° Compagnia,
Casale Monferrato,
(Alessandria),
Italy.

and to his parents, Signor and Signora Pinna at

Via Beatrice d'Este 37,
Ferrare,
Italy.

and to give what publicity they can to the whole case.

On behalf of the Peace Pledge

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

Union, Stuart Morris has sent the following letters:

Dear Pietro Pinna,

I have heard from Grace Beaton of your stand against military training and your consequent imprisonment. I want on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union to thank you for the witness you are making and to assure you of our support in any possible way. I note that the sense of fellowship with other war resisters will cheer you in your imprisonment and that you will be helped and encouraged by the knowledge that you are so bravely serving the best cause of all. With all good wishes,

yours very sincerely,
Stuart Morris.

Dear Signor and Signora Pinna,

I have heard from Grace Beaton of the imprisonment of your son Pietro for his refusal to take part in military training. I know that this is bound to cause you anxiety, and we wish to assure you of our sympathy in your difficult time. At the same time, we very much hope that it will be some consolation to you to remember the value of the stand your son is making and the way in which his action is appreciated by thousands of other war resisters throughout the world. He is one of the pioneers of the new order of international fellowship and understanding and of a world which has renounced war. As such we greet him and you his parents.

With all good wishes,

yours very sincerely,
Stuart Morris.

TWO YEARS' EACH FOR II C.O.s

IN the USA a call for "a halt to the imprisonment of young men of peace," has been signed by thirty-five Church and literary figures and sent to the Press. Among those signing the letter, which also asks for the release of American non-registrants for military service and other COs, are John Dos Passos, Louis Adamic, Pearl Buck, Louis Untermeyer, S. William Draper Lewis, Albert W. Palmer, Bishop Appleton Lewis and Ralph S. Cushman.

With eleven U.S. COs now serving prison terms averaging two years each and over thirty other cases pending in the courts, the latter asks:

"Do men who endeavour literally to carry out the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount merit penitentiary sentences? Must the stigma of felons be attached to them because in refusing to do what to us is a mere matter of form, they remain as steadfast in their convictions as the early Christians who would not offer the pich of incense before the Emperor's image?"

Although those signing the letter all feel that conscientious objectors should have registered, they "maintain it is utterly absurd to imprison them." Instead, they urged judges, district attorneys and the Department of Justice to use their "wide discretion" and grant suspended sentences or probation.

"Let us not in the United States be guilty of the same type of oppression that drove to our shores the ancestors of so many of our finest citizens," the letter warns. "The imprisonment of conscientious objectors does not become the government of a nation aspiring to the moral leadership of the world in opposing Russia and her satellites for their oppression of minorities today."

Another group, called the Peacemakers likewise signed a protest against the jailing of COs, calling such action by the government "morally abhorrent."

The statement, signed by 300 persons, including clergymen of a number of denominations, called on the government "to find ways of ending the policy of imprisoning" young men who refuse to register.

The signers said that if the government did not do this, it had no right, "on grounds of expediency, to ignore women and older men like ourselves who continuously approve and promote conscientious disobedience to the draft. Whatever 'guilt' attaches to one, attaches to all."

"We are firmly convinced," the statement said, "that preparation for

You can't sit on bayonets

"YOU often hear it said, 'There won't be war if we prepare overwhelming military strength.' Is that oft-repeated claim well-founded? Or is it simply shrewd propaganda by those who gain from military expansion and war? Historically all-out military strength has required cruelly oppressive taxation. But in peacetime no people will long endure back-breaking taxes simply to support gigantic 'military brass.' Domestic discontent appears. To suppress this resistance to militarism, war becomes a 'must.' Recent examples of how nations have taken this downhill ride into war have been Germany, Japan, and Italy.

"Most modern wars have been waged by rulers promising peace, but overburdened with defensive military preparations. These wars have proven repeatedly the truth of Talleyrand's warning to Napoleon 'You can do anything with bayonets, sire, except sit on them.' Talleyrand knew that when a nation has mobilised for war the politicians and the generals must manoeuvre it into actual war or lose their prestige and power.

"In 1940 war preparedness in America went into high gear. By November 25, 1941, Secretary of War Stimson was writing in his diary these words: 'The question was how we should manoeuvre them (the Japanese) into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves.' Twelve days later war arrived. Does Stimson's comment help to clear up the mystery of Pearl Harbour?

"It is becoming quite popular to wrap yourself in the flag and shout for unlimited war spending. Every American wants an adequate defence. More than that, every American is perfectly willing to pay for a margin on the excess side in order to have that adequate defence. But does \$120 per capita on war spending here now as compared with a per capita burden in Canada of \$20, and in Britain of \$60, indicate defence spending or something more? A wild spree of spending on the military now is no service to America. It is more likely that it is a service to any potential enemies. Surely they would like nothing better than to see us overload ourselves with military spending as France did after World War I. Already we are spending the fantastic sum of \$8,014 per man in military service. This compares with \$7,277 per man at the height of hostilities in 1944-45.

"The probable consequences of military debauchery now would seem to be one of these: i. Global war, generated from American sources if the Russians determine to avoid open conflict; ii. A reign of militarism and inflation in the United States which will reduce the people to serfdom; iii. A let-down in several years that would find us, like our armed forces at Pearl Harbour, with plenty of strength but everybody asleep either physically or psychologically.

"These possibilities confront Congress. Hitler propagandised the German people into accepting the idea that Communism was more dangerous to them than all-out militarism and regimentation at home. Must we repeat his performance? Or was Hitler right?"

—HOWARD BUFFET, U.S. Congress.

atomic and bacterial war and conscription of youth for such war is suicidal, irrational and profoundly evil. We shall try to discourage any co-operation with it, but without violence and in a spirit of goodwill toward all."

PPU LETTER

The Peace Pledge Union have sent a letter to the French President asking for the release of César Bugany, the French CO who was the subject of an appeal made in last week's Peace News. The following were invited to sign the letter and did so: Vera Brittain, Fenner Brockway, Alex Comfort, Prof. C. E. M. Joad, Augustus John, Lady Parmoor, Herbert Read, Bertrand Russell, Sybil Thorndike and Michael Tippett.

AMERICAN WAR RESISTERS' 25th ANNIVERSARY

THE following telegram was sent by the Peace Pledge Union to the American War Resisters' League on the occasion of their 25th Anniversary Dinner on March 1:—

"PPU greets WRL on occasion of 25th anniversary expressing solidarity with all war resisters and appreciation of those refusing draft. Our method the only realistic answer to the present difficulties and our cause the only one which can win. Stuart Morris."

Nearly 300 members were present at the dinner, held in the Community Church, 40 East 35th Street, New York. The telegrams and cablegrams from abroad were greeted with loud applause as they were read out. Among those sent from England were messages from Vera Brittain, Wilfred Wellock, and Laurence Housman.

Bayard Rustin, who had recently returned from a world tour to serve a sentence imposed on him as the result of a colour-bar demonstration, sang one of Mahatma Gandhi's favourite songs; speeches were made by Miss Pearl Buck, Mr. Caleb Foote and Mr. Roy Kepler, executive secretary who is about to leave New York on a nation-wide tour of the League's work.

The WRL was formed in 1923 when a few members of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation felt it necessary to offer fellowship to war opponents who had no religious ties and who might therefore feel less at home in the FoR.

The WRL and the FoR form the two American sections of the WRI.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, March 10, 1939

A friend who has been sending his Peace News to someone in Germany with whom he corresponds told me last weekend that his German friend did not like the things we said about dictatorships. He is a near-Nazi, I understand, yet apart from that criticism he thinks the views of this newspaper are sound.

I told my friend he was not the only one (though it would be quite misleading to suggest there are many) whose German correspondents thought we were too hard on Nazism and Fascism. But I advised him to reply that there are those of our British readers (and possibly more of our ex-readers!) who are more or less convinced that we are pro-fascist.

—From the Editor's Notebook.

"I have reached a stage in life when I cannot help thinking there is something in the Lansbury type of pacifism."

So said Col. W. L. Owen, DSO, MC, at the Annual Dinner of the Old Comrades Association of the 11th Bn. the Royal Regiment (Queen's) which was raised in Lambeth.

Colonel Owen, who is president of the Association and commanded the battalion in 1918, urged the 200 old soldiers present to study the subject of pacifism. "We are getting the armaments now," he added, "but pacifism has got to come."

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MEETINGS

CENTRAL LONDON Group, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1. Fri. Mar. 18 7.30. F. A. Ridley "Russia since 1917".

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. tube), Sunday Evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

WAR & THE Political Parties—Sybil Morrison at Friends (Large) Hall, Harpenden, Herts. Tuesday, Mar. 29, 8 p.m. St. Albans, Luton and W.G. City friends please support.

ACCOMMODATION

WANTED BASE for seeing England for American family with five children (aged 3 to 20) in Southern England, preferably near the sea. Rooms needed July 15 to Sept. 1 with full board part of the time. Reply direct to Wm. B. Lloyd Jr., 805 Rosewood Avenue, Winnetka.

EARLY HOLIDAYS at Bude, Cornwall. Delightful walks. Lovely coastal scenery. Enjoy restful and friendly atmosphere of Atlantic Guest House. Ideal situation on sea front. Vegetarians and others welcomed. Resident proprietors Joan and Herbert Lomax.

Russian Patriarch's Peace Appeal WILL CHURCHES IN WEST RESPOND?

THE peace appeal made by the Patriarch of Moscow on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the Independence of the Russian Church is the subject of an article by Dr. A. D. Belden in the British Weekly of Mar. 3.

He asks whether the passage quoted below is not the kernel of an appeal "which could only have been got out of Russia in the cocoon of complete loyalty to the Russian regime."

"If so," declares Dr. Belden, "it must surely find its echo in our hearts. For one thing it would then indicate a rather pathetic belief on the part of the Russian Church in the perfect good will and the Christian spirit of the great Churches of the West."

The Patriarch's Message

The following is the concluding passage of the appeal. "The authentic Christian ring... can hardly have been simulated," declares the Editor of the British Weekly.

"CHILDREN OF CHRIST, Children of the Holy Church in all continents and nations, Christians all over the world! Do not let us be blind nor deaf to the smouldering hatred of another war. No one will deny that the imperialists, large and small, the terrorists, dictators and despisers of men are doing the devil's work by instigating another insane orgy of human destruction, which will mean the end of civilisation and deprive life of all significance."

"But we who stand united in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of the earth, will build a wall against all attempts to destroy peace; through our unity and our piety we shall destroy any attempts to start another war in a world which is not yet purified after the blood, tears, sorrow and death of the last one."

"In the great self-sacrificing venture of the Russian Orthodox autocephalous Church, the Holy Orthodox Ecumenical Church sees the firmest foundation for the maintenance of peace, by reason of its fervent prayers and self-sacrificing love. We therefore appeal to all who call themselves Christians and who realise the true destiny of man, to unite in opposing everything that stands in the way of our Christian calling and our Christian service, and which endeavours to make us the tools of the powers of darkness."

"Bearing in mind the words of the Apostle Paul: 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God,' we believe that all right-thinking people far and near will hear our call to unity in the spirit of peace, love and truth, so that the world may be filled with the light of Christian truth to the glory of the One Eternal God and for the blessing of His most dearly loved creature—man."

Women's International Peace Campaign in Africa

A branch of the WIPC has been formed in Northern Rhodesia. The opening meeting took place on Feb. 22, and was well publicised.

The Petition of the WIPC is now being circulated and signed by women in the Union of South Africa, as well as in Rhodesia.

BRIEFLY...

Two pounds of unrationed food have been allowed in food parcels sent abroad since Feb. 1, provided they contain at least 4 lbs. of rationed food or soap.

"The Pigs Have It," a reprint of Yaffle from Reynolds News, is being widely distributed as a PPU leaflet with illustrations by the Punch cartoonist, Mays. Supplies are available from The Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, at 2s. 6d. 100 and 20s. 1,000.

"Knowing the attitude of Rome and of the great Protestant Churches to their own governments we can scarcely expect the Russian Church to do other than give at least conventional support to the Russian policy. 'What matters, surely, is the willingness of this Church to oppose war as a solution of the present crisis. That would mean the rallying of 100 million Russian Christians against any outbreak of war.'

"Is that prospect of no value to Western Christendom? Can the ecclesiastical leaders of Britain and America do nothing with such an opportunity? Shall it be said that 100 million Christians uttered a cry for peace across the world, and 400 million Christians made no response?"

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Coventry Peace Conference

THE delegates to a Peace Conference held in November, were recalled to the Technical College, Coventry, on Saturday, Feb. 26, in order to discuss the comments sent by Mr. Christopher Mayhew, of the Foreign Office on a resolution passed unanimously, calling for a more friendly attitude to Russia, a beginning in disarmament and an imaginative gesture to Russia to help her with her rehabilitation.

Miss Ruth English, lecturer in Russian at Birmingham University, dealt with the comments one by one. She said Mr. Mayhew's attitude was one of pious resignation indicating as he did that everything had been done that was possible and it was now Russia's turn to make an advance.

Miss English said that capitalistic monopoly had been allowed to rise again in Bizonia, whereas in Eastern Germany democratisation and demilitarisation had taken place, and pointed out that the veto was not thought up by the Russians but by President Roosevelt.

A general discussion followed and the hope was expressed that an answer would be sent to the Foreign Office.

MARGERY JONES

Pacifist Profiles XXX

EDWARD RICHARDS, U.S. treasurer of the War Resisters' International, was born in 1886 at Elizabeth, New Jersey. He attended Yale University and the Yale Forest School, and, owing to his profession of forestry, was exempted from military service in World War I. He was always a fighter, however, and felt rather cheated at being left out of the struggle in this way. Accordingly, having become a pacifist and joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1916, he volunteered for "any dangerous work," and was sent on a relief-mission to West Persia.

Persia was at that time said to be the wildest and most dangerous quarter of the world. The age-old



EDWARD RICHARDS

hatred of the Turks for Syrians and Armenians had broken out afresh in persecutions and massacres; disease was rampant among the 100,000 refugees—and Edward Richards was in charge of the orphans at Uroumiah when the Turks and Kurds entered the city. On one occasion after another, he was able to save his charges solely by a display of absolute fearlessness, combined with a readiness to befriend the enemy himself.

After his return to America, he took up forestry again. In 1933, he was appointed Chief Forester to the Tennessee Valley Authority, with responsibility for the control of soil erosion and fisheries, as well as plantations, up till 1938, when he took over his own farm at West Chester, Pennsylvania.

Edward Richards is a member of the Society of Friends and of the War Resisters' League, whose inaugural meeting he attended in New York. When World War II broke out, he refused to register for the 1942 draft, and was arrested, but his case, like that of most older COs, was never brought to trial. His sons, Frederick and William, however, served terms of one and five years' imprisonment respectively—while his wife and daughters were also prepared to refuse to register, should the women's draft pass Congress in 1943. It is rare to find a whole family so united in its allegiance to pacifism.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

FURNISHED FLAT Croydon offered lady return part-time experienced driving, little gardening. Also furnished flatlet return slight help. Box 27.

SEASIDE HOLIDAY acmdtn. for Vegetarians and others welcomed. Vegetarians at Innisfree, St Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel: Ambergate 44).

FOR AN ideal country holiday stay at "The Yew Trees," Cockleford, Cowley, Cheltenham. (Cotswold country.) Brochure from Lilla Tansley.

ACCOMMODATION FREE Easter, one week. Small bungalow Essex. Exchange help owner paint (companionship). One two days. Suit married couple one, two children or friends. Fred Pimm, 177 Southesk Road, Forest Gate, London.

COMFORTABLY FURNISHED converted rly. coach to let for hols. In lovely country, ideal centre for walking holiday, etc. Full details from Trend, Gilmore Farm, Brushford, Dulverton, Somerset.

DEVON & CORNWALL for early holidays. Terms from 70s. week. Free illus. brochure. 10. Bishop, "Fairfield," Dawlish, Devon.

EASTER, SUMMER, holidays in lovely Devon. Close to sea. Collis, "Pinehurst", Chambercombe, Ilfracombe.

EDINBURGH FOR Easter! 8 Darnaway Street. Excellent. Inclusive £3 3s. Central.

EDUCATIONAL SPEAKING & WRITING lessons, 5s. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686

FOR SALE & WANTED

BAMBOO GARDEN Canes. Chinese imported. Raffia and wood garden labels. Every kind of cane for canecraft supplied, wholesale and retail. "Raffia Works & Basketry" for beginners 2s. 9d. post free. Further details, Whines and Edgeler, The Bamboo People, Godmanstone, Dorchester.

LITERATURE, &c.

MUSIC PARADE, Magazine for Music Lovers. Intelligent, bright, informative. Bookstalls 1s. Subscriptions 6s. 6d. P. Unwin, 3 England Lane, N.W.3.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

GENUINE GARLISOL may be obtained at your Health Food Store or send stamps for booklet: Garlisol Remedies, Fairlight, Sussex.

LONELY? JOIN Friendship Circle. Details 74d. Secretary, 34 Honeywell Road, London, S.W.11.

GIFT PARCELS of coffee, tea and clothing sent to your friends in Europe. Quick delivery. Apply: Fregata Ltd., 11 Greek Street, London, W.1.

MARRIAGE BUREAU. Sincere introductions arranged privately. Booklet free. Mary Blair (Room 59), 18 Eagle Street, London, W.C.1.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Central of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021.

DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE. PPU will soon be discussing appointment of a development officer, whose responsibilities will be to maintain the records department at HQ and to visit PPU Groups throughout the country. Applications, from either sex, to General Secretary, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

GIRL'S YOUTH Club Ldr. reqd. for small Free Ch. Residential Settlement. Also Secy.-Housekeeper. Apply 48 Kentwell Close, London, S.E.4.

LINOTYPE OPERATOR: vacancy for skilled operator in country works, news and jobbing. Comfortable job, five-day week, Union rate. A. W. Childs & Co. (Petersfield) Ltd., 21-3 High Street, Petersfield, Hants.

PART-TIME ORGANISER required by London Area PPU. Hours by arrangement. Write London Area Office, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

INTERESTING WORK wanted by man 32, experience of book-keeping, salesmanship and catering. Smart appearance, artistic, keen. Suggestions welcome. Box 32.

FIRST CLASS duplicating by experts. Immediate attention to every order. Mabel Eyles, 2 Abaddon Park, Highbury, N.5. CANNONbury 3862.

GERMAN PACIFIST (married) seeks farm or market gard. post with accom. Kuhlagen, c/o Stanbrook, Littlehampton Rd., Ferring-by-Sea.

HAS ANYONE a small business for sale or need for a partner? Gentleman in the thirties would be interested in any proposition. Box 31.

MISCELLANEOUS

£500-£1,000 required urgently for investment in small farm. Excellent prospects. 4 per cent. offered. Box 33.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps, and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

And now the buyers' market

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

her import-export gap, it is pretty certain the US would expect her to raise this figure very considerably.

As to the U.S., she is to devote over \$5,000,000,000 to armaments during the coming year. This is 50 per cent. of her entire budget, yet it does not include the military aid that the U.S. has promised to the European section of the Atlantic Pact, which, it is rumoured, will consist of £250,000,000 of supplies from stock, and new expenditure of the same value.

These expenditures will involve more austerity for Britain, and a considerable amount for the people of the United States. So what about the cure of Communism?

Drive for markets

SO far Britain has made remarkable progress in filling her import-export gap, but a situation is now developing which may wreck her hopes. War-made shortages are rapidly disappearing. The vast quantities of new machinery that have been dispersed throughout the world are closing many markets and increasing the number of competitors for the markets which remain. A weakening of demand for woollen cloths and for British ships is beginning to be felt. For the first time in ten years, workers in many industries are being "stood off": in the U.S., British exporters have been complaining of German and Japanese competition, yet the foreign trade of these two countries is only one-tenth of what it must be if they are to be self-supporting. The stock piles of consumer goods are rising rapidly in the U.S., and the latest information is that a buyers' market in motor cars is in sight.

On March 1, the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Harold Wilson, told a gathering of radio component manufacturers:

"The buyers' market in 1949 represents the biggest challenge to us. I am afraid you will be up against it. The problem is no longer one of production as of selling what we can produce in sufficient quantity to pay for imports."

In the discussions on the Marshal Aid appropriation to Britain in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the other day, Senator Tydings doubted Britain's ability to win through.

A significant fact in our post-war exports is the high percentage of industrial machinery which they include, for machinery exported today means the exportation of fewer consumer goods tomorrow. In times past both we and the U.S. have declined to export machinery in the interest of our permanent export trade. But today we have no option: "No machinery, no food!" is the sign on every frontier.

We are thus approaching the situation I have persistently predicted, and as we do so the impact of American competition on our foreign trade will be increasingly felt. The mount-

ing obligations of the United States as World Protector against Communism will undoubtedly cause her to decide that she must swim, who ever else goes under. Hence in the struggle for economic survival, Britain must expect no quarter from the U.S. but only charity, which will undoubtedly be forthcoming at the price of obedience, in an era of rising armaments and growing austerity.

Drive for food

THE sudden emergence of a permanent world food shortage problem some two years ago came like a bolt from the blue. It is not a stunt, nor a scare, but a grim reality. Every authority on food throughout the world, from the FAO downwards—also the statistics of all the investigators, confirm it.

It has been estimated that the total amount of land adapted to food production throughout the world is slightly over one acre per person whereas two acres are deemed to be necessary to maintain full health. Yet the world's population is rising at the rate of 55,000 per day, or one per cent. per year, while over-population is leading to soil exhaustion and erosion in very many countries, and get-rich-quick methods in many others, not least in the United States.

The causes of decay

THE city politician is apt to say: let us hand over this job to the scientists: have they not performed miracles in the past? But too much of this "science" has been piecemeal, has failed to take account of the complete agricultural picture, with the result that it has done more harm than good. There is more in soil than chemicals. There are bacteria also, which far too often the chemists have driven out of the soil by faulty feeding, and with them those rare minerals without which human beings suffer numerous deficiency diseases.

What is the cure? According to Mr. Osborn's "Our Plundered Planet" it is fundamentally education of a thoroughgoing kind, while Mr. Vogt, in his "Road to Survival," in addition lays strong emphasis on birth control, and insists that a forthright attempt should be made by every country to adjust its population to its food resources under sound methods of husbandry.

Vocationalism

THUS we perceive that stark necessity in the shape of the threat of world famine, compels some of America's foremost agriculturalists to come down sharply and heavily on the side of a balanced economy in every country.

But something more is needed, and not only in agriculture, but in every walk of life, namely, vocationalism. To pursue agriculture with the object of making a fortune and then to clear out, means today, as it has always meant, the death of civilisation, the only difference being that today it is world civilisation that is at stake.

The three supreme demands in current politics—for armaments, for markets and for foods—arise as a direct result of a world economy which little by little during several centuries has destroyed vocationalism and all the fine spiritual human and social values which belong to it, in the interest of money, or the power, goods and services it will buy.

Balanced lives, balanced local communities and balanced national economies all hang together. So do whole and abundant food, whole persons and whole societies. Commercialism can secure big mah-power yields of devitalised food, and thus big profits. But maximum acreage production, high quality food and the satisfactions of vocationalism, of fulfilling a creative, social function, are the rewards of a true husbandry, whence the heritage of a fertile soil is handed down from generation to generation.

When our neighbours are our markets there is no need for armaments and no cause for famine. It is for lack of this basic knowledge that armaments are growing, that soil erosion is advancing, and that civilisation is decaying. Who, if not Britain, is to rectify this basic error in modern civilisation?

INDONESIA

PPU letter to Ambassador

The following letter has been sent to the Dutch Ambassador in London by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union:

I TRUST that you will not deem it impertinent or irrelevant for representatives of the Pacifist Movement in Britain to approach you with regard to the situation in Indonesia. Many of us have for a considerable time been seriously concerned about the situation, and as the British Section of the War Resisters' International we are aware of a similar concern in many other countries.

As far as our information goes, we find it impossible to accept that the action of the Dutch Government against the Republican Government of Indonesia can legitimately be called police action, or justified as such. We feel concerned both for our fellow pacifists in Holland and especially for many who are being conscripted to fight in Indonesia. We are also concerned for the people of Indonesia whose legitimate desire for self-determination and freedom must be the concern of all who value human right.

May we express the hope to your Excellency that the Dutch Government will give every assistance to the proposed Commission of the United Nations and that it will agree to international arbitration as the best means of settling the dispute.

We would further express the hope that to facilitate these two suggestions all Republican officials should be given complete and full liberty, and that the Dutch Government should announce the date beyond which its forces will not remain in Indonesia.

LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP AGM

Drive for new members

AT the Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship held at Hope House, London, SW1, on Feb. 26, the two main issues discussed were the organisation and membership of the Fellowship and changing the Government's foreign policy.

A new drive is to be made to get into the Fellowship the many pacifist Labour Party members and trade unionist who are so far outside it. The annual membership subscription is now 2s. 6d., and Archer Stink, 29 Southwold Crescent, South Benfleet, Essex, will be pleased to hear from any pacifist interested in the LPF.

Reg Sorensen, MP, in his Presidential address said that opposition to conscription was not sufficient as a policy. A positive alternative must be presented.

"We must proclaim a positive pacifist technique as the alternative to war," Reginald Sorensen continued, "not exploit emotional revulsion. We have to continue to make converts to pacifism. Our immediate job is to influence the Labour Party and Government in the right direction towards a new foreign policy; to spread the pacifist spirit in all Party work; to emphasise the need for social and economic co-operation rather than military preparations and undermine militarism and domination by encouraging the constructive elements in all lands."

Reports were given of the many ways in which Labour pacifists are helping to foster international goodwill. Several members have played leading parts in getting their local towns to adopt German towns; others have organised the reception by local Labour Parties of visits of German children, and correspondence with pacifist-socialists in many lands is increasing.

C.O. GUINEA PIGS

The Medical Research Council's Green Book—"Vitamin A Requirements of Human Adults," pays tribute to CO "guinea pigs" who worked at the Sorby Research Institute, Sheffield. It will be the subject of a forthcoming PN article.

Sybil Morrison's CAMPAIGN COLUMN

IT has been suggested in some quarters that Molotov has been removed because he was too inflexible and that in the future Stalin will himself be the power behind the Foreign Minister's actions and statements. "We may become aware," says The Observer, "of a subtler and craftier touch in the conduct of Soviet diplomacy. The peace offensive may leave the realm of Press interviews and vague generalities and take the form of tempting offers of bargains."

This fascinating paragraph sent me to an Oxford Dictionary to look up the definition of the word "bargain" and I discovered that it means "agreement on terms of give and take." There seems nothing offensive about that, and if the design for a peace move should be in such a framework it would seem to ordinary people to be highly desirable. Yet the majority of national newspapers, whatever their political trend, were united in referring to any bargaining on the part of the Soviet Union as "an offensive" in disguise.

A GOOD BARGAIN

There can be no real "give and take" in an atmosphere of suspicion and fear; in a good bargain the "give" would be just as important as the "take" and both the giver and the taker would need to believe in each other. An exchange of goods, an exchange of opinions, an exchange of tolerance and understanding, negotiation without the threat of ultimate force—all these would be a good bargain for the ordinary people of the world.

There is much work to be done in creating a public opinion which will demand more give and take in foreign affairs. There is at present an intransigence in the very apathy of the ordinary person which needs a tremendous effort on the part of the campaigner. It is easy to decide that it is really no use trying to make people understand the pacifist point of view—let alone listen to the pacifist answer to the method of war, but it must always be remembered that the responsibility is ours and we must either accept it or discard it; the pacifist has no "stand-in" except another pacifist.

FUTURE PLANS

Throughout the spring and summer there will be open air meetings, poster parades, distribution of leaflets and selling of Peace News all over the country.

London will give a lead off on Sunday April 3 in Trafalgar Square at 3 p.m. The speakers will be Emrys Hughes, M.P., Dr. Albert Belden, Henry Hilditch, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, A Young Conscientious Objector, and a Young Mother. The last two will remain anonymous but as they are both extremely good speakers they will probably not remain so for long.

There will be a march with banners and posters leaving 6 Endsleigh Street, at 2 p.m. All that is needed is the full support of London members (for the Square always fills if there is a good crowd to start with)—and a fine day!

The leaflets advertising the meeting are now ready and posters will be ready next week.

Apart from the meetings in Ipswich on Mar. 23, and Sheffield on Mar. 25, Stuart Morris will be in Oxford on Mar. 17 speaking on "Is Peace With Russia Possible?"

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU, will be speaking with D. N. Pritt, KC, MP, at the Rugby and District Trades' Council Peace Conference at the Brotherhood House, Castle Street, Rugby, on Mar. 13, at 6.15 p.m.

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LIBERAL SOCIALIST PARTY

Candidates and helpers required to contest Parliamentary Seats and ultimately form a new NATIONAL GOVERNMENT which will accomplish peace and security through the realistic means of constructive economics and moral rearmament.

PROGRAMME

(OF IMMEDIATE ISSUES)

1. The Party renounces War and all forms of Conscription.
2. The Money now being poured out on obsolete war weapons will be transferred to constructive life thus removing the main cause of war viz economic frustration.
3. The feeding, clothing and housing of our own people will have priority over the export of luxury cars, etc.
4. Voluntary nationalisation of suitable industries will be tried out in place of compulsion.
5. Civil Service to be reorganised and individual effort encouraged in place of Bureaucratic waste.
6. UNO to be open to all nations without exception.
7. Immediate INVASION OF RUSSIA—not with armed forces, but with men and women of faith and courage to study the Soviet System and bring mutual understanding.

A DRAFT MANIFESTO OF THE PARTY IS IN COURSE OF PREPARATION

All interested should write at once to: Don Alwyn, Box No. 30, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.